

PEACE NEWS

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WILFRED WELLOCK on the Bankruptcy of Politics

Most people are finding it difficult to decide what to do, politically, in the best interests of the future; and, for the most part, the more they think the more confounded they become. They are up against something impregnable which they cannot understand.

NOTHING comparable to the present holocaust has ever happened to the world. Its upheavals—political, economic, moral, spiritual—are of incalculable magnitude, and render the future undecipherable, even to the leading statesmen.

Indeed, those who stand nearest to the fulcrum of events are the most terrified by them. They recognize that the buttons they are daily pressing and the levers they are pulling are changing the shape of things in ways they had not foreseen.

The result is that victory is becoming even more terrifying to them than was the fear of war to Baldwin and Chamberlain before 1939. They little dream—or do they at times suspect?—that those levers will be pulled by other hands tomorrow and may hurl them into oblivion!

The one chance of saving the world which still belongs to the politicians of today—the Churchills and Roosevelts—is that they father the greatest of all revolutions—the substitution of a true democracy and an equal society for the existing class-based civilization. That adventure would convert the task of world-building into a great spiritual crusade into which the common people of every land, of every race and colour, would throw themselves heart and soul.

But such a course involves a change of outlook and social attitude of which, as yet, they are incapable. Their class-bred outlook is farther removed from the outlook and problems of the common man than they know. They promise to inaugurate the era of the common man, but the "traditional England" and the "American way of life," for which they respectively stand, make the promise moribund, despite their good intentions.

Demand for Guarantees

The genius of Churchill and the might of his war leadership are being used to quell the strong demand for specific guarantees that the old order is to be superseded by sounder democratic principles. In his broadcast speech of Mar. 21, 1943, Mr. Churchill said:

"Therefore I tell you round your firesides tonight that I am resolved not to give or make all kinds of promises and tell all kinds of

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

ALL the freedoms are in jeopardy, except freedom of worship. Nobody is going to bother about restricting that! The next most likely to be preserved in this country is freedom of speech. It may not be quite so dangerous to the authorities as it used to be.

But it is still vital to any sort of free society. It is the one means by which we may hope to continue and expand the work of educating others—and ourselves—into the conditions necessary to peace; which is bound to become the main business of pacifism. The steady growth of the Peace News fund appears to testify that this is widely realized by our readers. It is very encouraging.

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THE EDITOR

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fairy tales to you who have trusted me and gone with me so far and marched through the valley of the shadow till we have reached the upland regions on which we now stand with firmly planted feet.

Later on he added these still more soothing words:

"Under our ancient monarchy, that bulwark of British liberties, that barrier against dictatorship of all kinds, we intend to move forward in a great family, preserving the comradeship of war, free forever from the class prejudice and other forms of snobbery from which in modern times we have suffered less than most of the nations, and from which we are now shaking ourselves entirely free."

Then note this remark:

"If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world and to survive as a great Power that can hold its own against external pressure, our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families. For this reason, well-thought-out plans for helping parents to contribute this life-spring to the community is of prime importance."

This refusal to outline the concrete bases of the post-war world, the vital changes in our social and economic structure which the Government is ready to make, means nothing less than the triumph of reaction and, make no mistake, the losing of the peace. To end the war on the status quo as regards basic policy, is to give the right of way to all the forces which in 1914 started the world revolution which, lacking a spiritual revolution, this war will carry one step nearer to the collapse of our civilization.

In the interim of exciting events, of booming trade and high wages, before the approach of a relentless Nemesis, the vested interests will endeavour to entrench themselves in the new conditions. But the price of peace will have to be paid.

Power—and Population

During the recent Quebec Conference, the press told us of the growing industrial power of Canada and of the important role she would play in world affairs after the war. This new industrial power, we were informed, would enable her to carry a bigger population. Exactly!

But a bigger population would further increase production and create a demand for new markets. Moreover, that will be the situation in Australia and in a score of other countries, after the war, and will lead, in a world governed by class privilege and power politics, to new wars and revolutions.

Confronted with this grim prospect, the so-called progressive political parties are impotent and almost speechless. The spectre of death hovers on the political horizon.

What is to be done? The first step towards the solution of the social problem, it seems to me, is to recognize that the real dictator of the modern world is the machine. The power of the dictators who are now harassing mankind is derived from the productive power of the machine, as is also the power of the financial dictators. Until the machine is controlled nothing else can be controlled.

Profits—and Surplus

The profits derived from machinery led to the worship of the machine, but also to huge surpluses of goods on the world's markets, to economic breakdown, to war and revolution. Revolution brought the dictators, whose faith in machinery exceeded that of the capitalists whom they superseded. Out of that faith came

Quebec and the U.S.S.R.

SOME people at least are thinking hard about the Quebec Conference. Never since Mr. Churchill began to confer with President Roosevelt has dissatisfaction and disquiet been so plainly voiced.

There has been little attempt even to pretend that the official communiqué was other than disingenuous. "The public was left to make what it

PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

liked of the statement that 'the military decisions turned very largely on the war against Japan' (Economist, Aug. 28).

What the Daily Mail (Aug. 27) made of it was to point out that the statement followed and was occasioned by the Russian announcement that Litvinov was not returning. In other words, it was an unsuccessful effort to pretend that the conference was concerned with matters which did not concern Soviet Russia.

Russia's Needs

MORE openly than would be expected at a moment so obviously critical, it is acknowledged that relations between Russia and the Western Allies are very strained indeed. The Economist argues that Russia cannot afford to forgo the economic help of USA and Britain in her post-war reconstruction. To which one answer at least is that Russia "could not afford" to do precisely what she did between the two wars, when by superhuman efforts, and hardship which would be reckoned intolerable by Western standards, she made herself the great industrial and military power that she has now become.

What Russia has done before, she can do again. It does not appear that the uncertain promise of post-war economic aid would have much influence in persuading Stalin to carry on the war. Stalin will consider one thing, and one thing only, the interests of Soviet Russia. My belief is that Russia has far more to gain from real economic collaboration with a reconstituted Germany than from precarious economic collaboration with USA and Britain.

Germany Still "Hitlerite"?

A RECONSTITUTED Germany—that is the crux. If, as is generally supposed, the appointment of Himmler as Reich Minister of the Interior, means that Nazi Germany intends to fight to a finish as Nazi Germany—will that make "a peace of understanding" (to use the German phrase during the last war) with Russia impossible? I should have thought so. But I cannot pretend to be sure. Neither can Mr. Churchill or Pres. Roosevelt.

So the real question may be: Who

total war, with all its unspeakable horrors.

But already the dictators are being destroyed by the very machinery in which they put their trust. The machine will yet destroy all its worshippers, including the financial dictators of the democracies.

The first enemy of mankind today is the uncontrolled machine. It slaughters the innocent masses, in peace and in war, without mercy. It is destroying the human person and the foundations of good living everywhere. It is man's first duty to control it. He must first decide its function; he will then be able to free himself from its power.

Politics has three functions today:
(1) To interpret the age to the people;
(2) To prepare them for the big struggle of the future, that of making man the master instead of the servant of the machine;
(3) To struggle for the retention of whatever liberties society still possesses.

A PRAYER *

GIVE thy blessing, O Father, to the people of that great and fair land with whose rulers we are at war. Strengthen the hands of the wise and just, who follow charity and look for justice and freedom, among them and among us.

Drive away the evil passions of hatred and suspicion and the fever of war, among them as among us.

Relieve and comfort the anxious, the bereaved, the sick and tormented and all the pale host of sufferers, among them as among us.

Reward the patience, industry, loving kindness and simplicity of the common people, and all the men of good heart, among them as among us.

Forgive the cruelty, the ambition, the foolish pride, the heartless schemes of which the world's rulers have been guilty.

Teach us everywhere to repent and to amend.

Help us so to use our present afflictions, which come from us and not from thee, that we may build on the ruins of our evil past a firm and lasting peace. Grant that, united in a good understanding with those who are now become our enemies, though they are our brethren in Christ, they and we may establish a new order, wherein the nations may live together in trust and fellowship, in the emulation of great achievements and the rivalry of good deeds, truthful, honest, and just in our dealings one with another and following in all things the standard of the Son of Man whom we have denied and put to shame and crucified afresh on the Calvary of our battle ground.—Amen.

The late BISHOP GORE *

will eat their own words first, in regard to Germany? Roosevelt-Churchill their "unconditional surrender," or Stalin his "no peace with Hitlerite Germany"? Have we not perhaps already reached the position foretold by Mr. Walter Lippmann for the post-war period if USA, Britain, and Russia failed to achieve a firm political alliance? In that event, he said, Britain-USA on the one hand, and Russia on the other, would be competing for the support of Germany. Is that virtually happening now? The tempo of events is so prodigious nowadays that it is by no means impossible.

Out of Hand

WHAT cannot be denied is that the position is now one of quite extraordinary interest. That no ordinary citizen of the two great "democracies" has the faintest notion of what is really going on is of course all of a piece with the vast illusionism of the war. The New Statesman (Aug. 28), probably with truth, says of Labour members of the War Cabinet: "Perhaps they have scarcely more to say in the strategy of the war than critics outside the Government."

It is (I suppose) possible that nothing is "going on," in the high political sense, but merely the routine military decisions of war involving countless millions of lives. It is possible that Roosevelt and Churchill are as completely flummoxed by the novel situation as, on the record of their public statements, they ought to be.

If Russia is going to refuse to play her part in the game, as appears probable, that is just too bad. Her part in the game was to exhaust Germany and to exhaust herself, until the Western Allies were able to step in and make Europe safe for big business, high finance, and the four corollary freedoms. I hate to be cynical. But cynicism seems to me the only sane attitude towards the affairs of this war.

(Continued on page 2)

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Dismay on the Left

THE gathering dismay of democratic progressive opinion in this country is apparent. The progressives have hitherto pinned their faith in some not too intolerable outcome of the war on a firm political alliance between Soviet Russia and the Anglo-Saxon democracies. Now they discover all the signs pointing towards Russia withdrawing herself into her former complete isolation (from which indeed she never emerged very far) and also to the U.S.A. and Britain concerting support for régimes in Europe which, though no longer flaunting the Fascist label, are yet anti-democratic, non-constitutional and authoritarian.

For our own part, as our readers know, we have never been able to believe in the practicability of a firm political alliance between the Western "democracies" and Soviet Russia: not so much because Britain and U.S.A. were democracies, as because they are capitalist countries. All the eager talk of Anglo-American-Russian partnership in shaping a new world-order has seemed to us so much wishful thinking: and rather muddle-headed wishful thinking at that. What is there really in common between a country like Britain, in which Labour is working and planning to share in the spoils of a monopoly capitalism, and the Russian economy? Soviet Russia may have become a potent symbol for the British working-class. So it is said; and we are not in a position to deny it. But if so, it has the dubious potency of a day-dream. In fact, the working-class is being quietly shepherded, unprotesting, along the path which leads to Fascism without violence. Violence is not essential to Fascism. That depends on whether the working-class is revolutionary-minded or not. The essence of Fascism is that production for war is the means by which the productive capacity of the nation is fully employed.

That is, and has been, the position of this country for three years. No wonder it supports Fascism under a changed label. The difference between Britain and U.S.A. on the one hand and the explicitly Fascist countries on the other is merely that the "democracies" are producing for a "defensive" war. Suppose the cigar-dream of Mr. Churchill were realized and the USA and Britain reorganized the entire world at their own sweet will. They would need to organize and produce for war with undiminished fervour in order to maintain the new world-imperium. Would that be production for "defensive" war? So, certainly, it would be called. But it would make no difference to the nature of the social and economic organization required. That would be essentially Fascist. Whether a nation is dragooned into this situation by authoritarian methods or slides into it with the irrelevant machinery of democracy still buzzing away makes precious little difference in the long run.

Fully to employ the productivity of a great nation for the needs of peace requires a revolution. That revolution cannot be produced by war, however much the optimists may desire to believe it can. War merely postpones the problem, and vastly diminishes the chance of solving it without violent revolution. Revolution in a democratic country need not be violent. Indeed it ought not to be. But when war is used as the means of solving the economic impasse of a democracy, there is no solving it afterwards except by violence.

On the other hand it may never be solved at all. Permanent war offers a permanent solution. And, as Mr. Wymack made clear in these columns, we are well set for permanent war.

Pacifism and the Mass Man

By ALAN SHADWICK

What did Lord Ponsonby mean when, some time ago, he suggested that a pacifist in war time was like a sane person shut up in a railway compartment full of madmen? Perhaps he meant that we had better hold our peace until the train stops.

Anyhow, it is certainly a stark fact that in the perpetual flux of total war—military success, and then reverse—the pacifist's tragedy of frustration is endemic. There is no propitious moment in which to cry Peace; unless, as some think, every moment is opportune and we abandon ourselves to the forlorn task of continuously crying peace when there is no peace.

THE world has given itself over almost wholly to the method of war. In times of military reverse the natural man of the world thinks it ignoble to sue for peace; in times of military success he presses forward on the path he has chosen, eager for the final victory which seems a little nearer.

It is in such a context that the pacifist presents his plea for a negotiated peace, and in such a world that he is sometimes asked to put forward the pacifist case in a way to be "understood by the Man in the Street."

Those men in the street—the cinema goers, the football fans, the air-raid wardens, the war workers, the readers of the Daily Express, the millions of ordinary folk who buy and sell, work and play—passed like a gargantuan procession before my mind's eye when readers of this publication were invited to put down an exposition of pacifism in terms to be understood by the mass man. And my brief moment of imaginative vision only corroborated what seven years of "pacifist activity" in those streets had taught me: that the faith called pacifism is yet too new, too revolutionary, and too dangerous for the apprehension of the man in the street.

My conviction of the truth of this conclusion leads me to believe that those pacifists who think otherwise cannot know what the world is really

COMMENTARY

Delayed-Action Wisdom

NOW the New Statesman (Aug. 28) acknowledges that it has been led up the garden. "Newspapers may tell the truth, as far as they know it; politicians, ranging from the extreme Left through Commonwealth up to Independent Labour spokesmen, may perorate throughout the country, but out of all this nothing will come unless there is in the House of Commons a possible alternative Prime Minister or a possible alternative Government."

I cannot refrain from: "I told you so." The moment for this realization was in January, 1942, when it was possible that Sir Stafford Cripps, if he had received the backing of the progressives, might have become the leader of a real Parliamentary opposition. On Jan. 30, 1942, I wrote here: "At the present moment to lead a genuine opposition is more important than anything else—among things which are possible. Since I can see no one but Sir Stafford Cripps with the ability and integrity required for this very difficult role, I regard his decision as of vital importance. Much more depends upon it than is immediately obvious."

Again, on Feb. 27, 1942, when Sir Stafford had taken his fatal decision to enter the War Cabinet, I wrote: "We are in for a very important struggle between Churchill and Cripps. That struggle may, or may not, come to an open cleavage. Churchill must swallow Cripps or Cripps may swallow Churchill. If the former, the position will be hopeless."

Cloud-Cuckooland

NOW, after printing a catalogue of the happenings which show that "the governing classes in Washington and London, increasingly conscious of the logical political consequences of destroying Fascism, have made up their minds that this war at any rate will not be allowed to become the locomotive of revolution," the New Statesman declares that it is imperative that Churchill should visit Stalin without delay. What good does it imagine will come of that? Churchill represents finance-capital and imperialism. Stalin represents something quite different.

Britain might, conceivably, have met Soviet Russia half-way; but it would have had to become a different Britain. And that different Britain might well have become incapable of carrying on the war. You cannot achieve even a semi-social-revolution in the process of making total war. At a deeper level still, you cannot defend democracy or destroy Fascism by total war. What happens is that you destroy democracy and defend Fascism, in the neatest possible way, by changing the label at home and abroad. One day the New Statesman will emerge from its cloud-cuckooland, but probably not before it has commended the inevitable element of Socialism in British Fascism as the real thing.

There is really only one choice, in the present perfection of industrial organization: the choice between total war and total peace. Progressive opinion has always refused to admit this. Now it begins to face the consequences, and is dismayed. It ought to be.

able sense of liberation. The vulgar, swaggering and bullying dictator has been put down from his seat. Shall I be readily forgiven by pacifists if I confess that I should have liked to play some part in that?

How can we fail to rejoice when there retires from the political scene a figure who for twelve years has hindered the development of Italy as a civilized member of the European family?

Remember that the Duce was everything that pacifists are not. And while it is not yet clear how or why Mussolini fell, it is very clear that the whole process has been outside the present purview of pacifism. It is with a heavy heart that I am forced to admit that Mussolini's political prisoners were doomed to an eternity of days on the Lipari Islands for all that pacifists could do for their succour.

"GUNS WILL RELEASE US"

These prisoners may be forgiven if they say, as they no doubt do, "What do we care for your heavy heart? Well-directed guns on the Fascist strongholds will release us."

At any rate, that is how the world argues, and in its way it is a strong argument. I have never been able to meet it convincingly on its own level; the pacifist lifts the situation on to another plane—and it so happens that T. S. Eliot has put the pacifist case into the mouth of St. Thomas with moving perfection:

You argue by results, as this world does. To settle if an act be good or bad... We are not here to triumph by fighting, by stratagem, or by resistance. Not to fight with beasts as men. We have fought the beast. And have conquered. We have only to conquer. Now, by suffering.

That is what we mean when we tell the world that, whatever the cost in an agony of waiting, for ourselves no less than for others, we stand forever pledged against violence, forever engaged in a holy war the very meaning of which is shattered the moment the weapons of this world are touched.

I have said that the man in the street—as the phrase is generally meant—is not ready for pacifism. That is so. Even the Church is not yet ready. In the meantime we are holding our peace.

That is a significant phrase. We are holding it like a tiny flame cupped in the hands against hostile winds. We must hold our peace humbly, because it involves suffering for those who accept it, and we must hold it watchfully, because although the crowds pass by, there is here and there a man in the street to whom we can hand the flame. That is the way we are destined to grow.

FALL OF MUSSOLINI

I have been moved to these reflections by the fall of Mussolini. There is no reason to doubt reports that Italy experienced a remarkable

Continued from page 1

Test of Denmark

SOME two years ago, in this column, I proposed the thesis that Denmark would be the test of the German "new order." I confess that I had an open mind about it; I did not think it impossible that Denmark might be allowed to live her own independent life. The event has shown that Nazism cannot bear to have freedom even as a neighbour. The Danes have, for all their forbearance, been forced into open rebellion, which, though immediately hopeless, is prophetic. The Times gives this account of the uprising:

"The Danes have been chafing under the stigma of the 'great betrayal' of 1940 which tricked them into apparent acquiescence in the German occupation. Danish patriots have longed for what they believed to be the inevitable day when they would have the chance to remove the undeserved stain from their history" (Times, Aug. 30).

I suspect that this is a good deal less than half the truth. It was the German claim to try Danes charged with "sabotage" on Danish soil in German military courts and to inflict the death penalty which caused the national uprising. The fact is that the Danish nation never "acquiesced" in the German occupation. It submitted to it, in the hope it would not be intolerable. It has proved to be intolerable.

Next-War Preparation?

MENWHILE, inevitably, Russia shrouds herself in increasing secrecy. The details of her war-production are kept severely to herself. A couple of years ago she showed signs of coming out of her shell. Now she has retired to the recesses. But one innovation has been tremendously publicized in the Soviet Press in order to impress its urgency upon the nation—the immediate abolition of co-education. That will make some of our pink Sovietophiles sit up, and perhaps take notice as well.

For it is worth speculating why the Soviet authorities have decided on this revolutionary reversal of their educational policy just now, when the shortage of school-buildings must be extreme. The Economist (Aug. 28) thinks it must be due to a vast increase in juvenile delinquency. I incline to the belief that Soviet Russia is looking further ahead. The reform is all of a piece with the new predominance of military education. Soviet Russia, I believe, is preparing betimes for the next war.

That Intangible Conference

MUR. Churchill's broadcast speech (Aug. 31) makes it abundantly clear that it is Stalin who has refused to meet Churchill and Roosevelt. All that is now envisaged is an eventual meeting of the respective Foreign Ministers: and that is uncertain. Preliminary even to that are meetings between Mr. Eden, Mr. Winant and Mr. Maisky—but Mr. Maisky is now engaged in packing up. It is, as they say in Oxfordshire, "a pretty middlin' affair."

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WORDS OF PEACE—36

Democracy and Liberty

MANUFACTURING American and Caesarian democracy tend equally to the multiplying of crowds governed by appetite, applauding charlatanism, vowed to the worship of Mammon and pleasure, and adoring no other God than force. Materialistic naturalism has the wind in its sails and a general moral deterioration is preparing. No matter, so long as the salt does not lose its savour and so long as the friends of the higher life maintain the fire of Vesta.

But is it not curious that the regime of individual right should lead to nothing but respect for brute strength? Jacobinism brings with it Caesarism; the rule of the tongue leads to the rule of the sword. Democracy and liberty are not two, but one. A republic supposes a high state of morals, but no such state of morale is possible without the habit of respect; and there is no respect without humility.

Now the pretension that every man has the natural qualities of a citizen, simply because he was born twenty-one years ago, is as much as to say that labour, merit, virtue, character, and experience are to count for nothing; and we destroy humility when we proclaim that a man becomes the equal of all other men by the mere mechanical and vegetative process of natural growth.

H. F. Amiel, 1865.

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Group Discipline For Pacifists

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief and preferably under 250 words.

Hindu Doctrine of Oneness

IN your issue of Aug. 6 you had a review of Mr. Hoyland's book on India which contained a rather serious distortion of Hindu teachings, from which it proceeded to draw conclusions. The misunderstanding was all the more regrettable because it described this unintentional travesty as a "fundamental Hindu belief," following this up with remarks about "corrupt religion" of a kind which missionaries delight in.

It is a mistake to suppose that the doctrine, according to which the conditions governing the existence of every being are effects that were inherent in causes from which they proceed (or rather, are so, cause and effect being really inseparable and simultaneous in the eternal present), therefore implies a "reincarnation" of an individual "soul." Popular simplifications are indeed unavoidable, but it must also be said that some of the worst distortions of this doctrine have been nothing but creations of European misunderstanding, due to the besetting habit of the Western mind of individualizing everything and consequently reading a similar intention into the minds of others.

Actually the principal aim of Hindu teaching is to make men free of that very individualizing or separative tendency which lies at the root of the distortion we are discussing, as also, among other things, of war. The Hindus remember, as we forget, that outward and visible warfare is but the natural consequence accruing to man at war within himself. The way to peace therefore lies less through an appeal to sentiment (though this may in some cases provide a starting point) than through a recalling to order, inwardly first, and outwardly as a consequence. This, incidentally, illustrates one of the many practical applications of the doctrine in question, one that is the basis of Gandhi's own method.

Seeing that Indian questions occupy so large a share of your readers' attention, I should like to take this opportunity of bringing to their notice a recent book which, unlike most of the books on Hinduism produced in the West, can be regarded as really authoritative; its study may help some people better to interpret Indian thought. This book is "Hinduism and Buddhism," by A. Coomaraswamy, who is himself a Hindu and a great scholar, in the best sense of the word. It was published in New York this year.

MARCO PALLIS

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MEETINGS in HYDE PARK

I WAS particularly interested to read the letter from Nancy Rouse of Worthing in your issue of Aug. 20, concerning open-air meetings in Hyde Park at which she had been present, and her especial mention of the ten-minute rowdiness which occurred on Jul. 25. As I was the speaker on this occasion, and probably on some of the others to which she refers, I should like to make one or two observations.

No-one will deny that quarrels do from time to time break out during an open-air meeting, but these are very often quite apart from what has been said from the platform and of a purely personal nature. That on Jul. 25, for example, was a heated dispute of an antisemitic type caused by a person who was trying to leave the crowd, treading rather heavily on the toes of a lady listener.

Had your correspondent waited till that interruption had subsided, she would have seen the most violent of the antagonists shake hands with the speaker, apologize for having disturbed the meeting, and say, "It's all right boy, I've got nothing against you. It's only these people who are down on me because I am a Jew." Had she stayed until the end of the meeting she would also have heard fairly considerable applause which, at any rate, seemed to show that a good section of the crowd, whilst not necessarily agreeing with the pacifist point of view, appreciates our efforts in Hyde Park.

I believe that the attitude with which one meets hostile sections of the crowd impresses the general public far more than anything one can say. I know from personal experience of at least three former persistent interrupters who have become staunch friends and supporters following upon a rather ugly incident which ended in physical assault.

Perhaps another comment on the orderli-

We have written this article because we, being a pacifist group organized for a particular job, feel that our experience in matters of discipline may be of interest to other groups which exist for different purposes. We have, of course, advantages over most groups in that we are full-time workers and that, with two exceptions, we live communally in the same house. But we feel that some account of our methods and conclusions may be helpful to others, and that they may suggest further ideas as to how different needs may be met, particularly those of groups whose members live apart and meet at intervals.

The discipline of which we are writing applies, of course, only to matters of action, not to matters of belief; so that, for practical purposes, questions of conscience are excluded.

We suggest that it is extremely important for groups which wish to act effectively to consider very carefully the question of discipline so as to avoid, on the one hand, a discipline which is left entirely to the individual—whose conscience (in our experience) proves insufficient for really effective work—and, on the other hand, one left entirely to the group, which is likely to be oppressive. We believe that it is on the side of a lack of group discipline that the vast majority of pacifist groups err, and we suggest that the Unit meeting described below, with certain members exercising leadership functions, may well be applicable to other groups in some form or other.

OURS is a Pacifist Service Unit, consisting of 12 full-time members living in a large house on the edge of a slum area for the purpose of doing social case-work among the most degraded families it could find.

The life of the Unit had to be so organized that case-work might be carried on as efficiently as possible, both as regards quantity and quality of work, which consists almost entirely of personal relationships with superficially unattractive people, and involves considerable nervous strain.

In the first place individual self-discipline was found unsatisfactory by itself, since the nature of the work demanded co-ordination and instruction by the more experienced members. A fairly high degree of imposed discipline in the actual field-work came to be accepted and was recognized as such, but was very much relaxed as members became able to work independently. Leadership of field-work and control of policy has always been subject to the control of the Unit Meeting.

Domestic discipline was enforced by pressure of work which made it essential that domestic affairs should take up as few man-hours as possible. This work is shared between members and is organized by the Unit Meeting.

GOVERNING BODY

The Unit Meeting consists of all full-time members and of part-time members with full-timers' consent. It meets once a week and normally lasts 2½ hours. It decides all questions of case-work and domestic policy, and of practice where this affects the Unit as a whole.

Any member may raise any matter for discussion, and it is a guiding principle that members should "speak the truth in love," in expressing their views, however personal these may be. This does not absolve members from the duty of tact, but they should not refrain from saying something that they feel needs to be said through fear of hurting someone's feelings.

If the meeting accepts a suggestion which involves specific action, someone is appointed to see that it is carried out. This person should be a volunteer, or at least someone who can do the job willingly, but if no-one

is willing, then it is for one of those who exercise functions of leadership (i.e. Field-work Leader, Deputy, or Secretary) to volunteer, though little difficulty of this sort has been experienced in practice.

When a suggestion is not accepted by the Unit, but is not inconsistent with Unit policy, it is left to those who suggest it to take such action as they see fit.

CHANGING MINDS HONESTLY

In matters affecting the future conduct of the Unit collectively or individually (e.g. an opportunity to do work with coloured people, or a holiday camp for children), agreement is reached and details recorded in the minutes. If the decision is not put into effect, this fact is drawn to members' attention at the next meeting, possibly with the suggestion that they may wish to alter their decision. The idea here is that the Unit ought to be honest with itself. If it doesn't wish to do what has been agreed, let it say and record that it has changed its mind.

Voting is considered a highly unsatisfactory way of reaching a decision and is avoided if humanly possible (as it almost always is). The normal practice is for the chairman, after discussion, to try to express the mind of the meeting (after the manner of the Society of Friends) and this can, if necessary, be amended by further discussion until a form is reached with which all can agree.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the meeting is open for any members with grievances to air them. Broadly speaking, the principle is that if the grievance isn't brought before the Unit Meeting, it ought not to be inflicted on the Unit at other times.

Where decisions have to be made quickly and cannot be left until Unit Meeting, they are made by one or all of those exercising functions of leadership, in consultation with each other and any other members of the Unit who may be available. There has not yet been a case of "mutiny," but it would be for the member to abide by the decision of those in leadership until the next Unit Meeting (a special one if necessary) when any decision can be challenged and, if the meeting agrees, reversed.

PLAIN, LOVING TRUTH

The principle of speaking the truth in love is also generally applied in everyday life. There is a tendency for people to express their grievances as they occur, usually in the form of a joke.

The plain speaking, both in jest and in seriousness, which goes on in the Unit has sometimes startled visitors and new-comers, but it is probably necessary between people working fairly long hours on a job involving rigid self-control with people who are frequently exasperating or offensive. In the past 16 months there has been no case where plain speaking has caused any but the most transient ill-feeling, and that only rarely.

The object has been, throughout, to make self-discipline easy for the individual, so that he may give all his energies to the job of service to be done, rather than to impose any rigid code of discipline, however unanimously agreed on. The methods used to achieve this have aimed at bringing to the notice of members, individually and collectively, an objective view of what is, after which it is hoped that their individual consciences can be relied on to show them what ought to be.

SMOOTH RUNNING

On the whole the result has been very satisfactory, and members are of the opinion that the life and work of the Unit run sufficiently smoothly, in spite of the nervous strain imposed on them by their work.

The standards of discipline are not, perhaps, as high as they should be—accurate and objective self-criticism is notoriously difficult. The machinery described seems to work satisfactorily, but, in addition, all members have a common positive objective, having been selected for membership with this in mind, and all are prepared to make a real effort to live their lives in a positive non-violent spirit.

All members are convinced that this spirit is the one absolute essential if any attempt at pacifist group discipline is to succeed. Machinery, however good, can never of itself produce the desired results, but can only help to give expression to that spirit which, whether it arises from religious conviction or not, must form the basis of any truly pacifist organization or action.

[T]HE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

*** PPU HEADQUARTERS, ***

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Albert Tomlinson recalls

THE OBJECTS OF DEVELOPMENT

THREE of the original objects covered by the term "development" were:

1. To ensure that each individual pacifist is approached and put into touch with the nearest Group (even if he or she is not able to attend meetings) and urged to become a regular subscriber to funds and Peace News.
2. To stimulate activity of existing groups;
3. To develop financial resources through the adoption by all groups and individuals of the Nottingham (or some similar) scheme.

It has been found that a great help in promoting these objects is the canvassing of those who have signed our pledge, and many groups are engaged on this work. The Records Department, at Headquarters, is very willing to supply the names of signatories to group secretaries, providing the department can cope with the work entailed.

The best way to use these lists is to split them into sections so that each group member can visit those named on his section list within the period of, say, a fortnight. The object of the visits should not be merely to strike off the names of those wishing to resign, or to help Headquarters maintain an accurate membership file, but to invite signatories to attend group meetings, to purchase Peace News, and to subscribe to funds through the Nottingham scheme. If those willing to remain in membership could be persuaded formally to reaffirm their pledge, it would add greatly to the solidarity of our movement, after the experiences of four years of total war.

This can be discouraging work, but I occasionally hear of flashes of reward. For instance, earlier in the year I canvassed signatories in a small country town and decided that only five could be regarded as loyal members. I was able to secure a Contact Member who tells me that he has since put in further intensive work resulting in securing one more adherent to the pledge and nine new readers of Peace News, with a prospect of several more, where there was only one reader before. The multiplication of such efforts throughout the country would make a great difference to our effectiveness.

* * *

Hull is one of the most bombed cities in the country, so that it was with more than usual interest that I heard the story of their Peace Centre during a recent visit. The original centre was badly damaged during a raid, but most of the furniture was saved to equip rooms in a nearby street. To show their faith in the future of this centre, the group made special efforts to repay £50 off a loan which National Council had made them at the beginning of the scheme.

The new Peace Centre is manned by members who are on duty every lunch-hour, and often for periods in the afternoon, answering inquiries and selling literature. For obvious reasons few people go out at night, so the group rarely organizes a public meeting but concentrates its energies on Peace News sales outside public buildings. House-to-house selling is also tried. Recently several members took part in a parade, using the new Food Relief Campaign posters. Heavy bombing has confirmed the members' conviction that war is futile and strengthened their determination to witness against it whenever possible.

One new Group has been added to our list, during the last month. Instead of a Contact Member at Stockport we now have a Group, with Elsie Ineson, of 177 Castle St., Egdeley, as secretary.

From Sep. 6 to 11 I shall be visiting groups in the Lakeland Area, and then, for a month, calling on signatories in the Scotland Area.

a pamphlet for study PACIFIST TECHNIQUES

by Charles F. Titford

with an introduction

by Alex Wood

Price 6d. (post free 7d.)

The P.P.U. BOOKSHOP,
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

BERNARD TAYLOR
235 Leahurst Rd., Hither Green, S.E.13.

A Belgian Family's Menu

OCCASIONALLY through the maze of facts, dates, and figures by which we try to convey accurately what is known about the food situation in occupied countries there comes a plain description of what inadequate rations actually mean for some typical family. One such description is given by the Belgian authority, Dr. Linz, a colleague of Professor Bigwood, in a supplementary memorandum on the food situation in Belgium.

This, he says, is what a Belgian worker's family gets nowadays. (The description is quoted from Professor Heymans report before the Belgian Academy of Medicine which was subsequently seized by the German authorities before publication.)

"Breakfast: 1 or 2 slices of bread with jam, artificial honey, or margarine.

"Dinner: Soup, vegetables, 200-300 grams of potatoes.

"Tea at five o'clock is omitted even for children.

"Supper: 1 or 2 slices of dry bread and 200 grams of potatoes.

"On Sunday they eat their meat ration."

According to the German News Agency on Aug. 30 (quoted in the Evening News), "Belgium's bread ration has been increased to 1½ oz. a day because of the good harvest."

It needs little imagination to realize the effect of such a diet month after month on the morale and health of the family, particularly on the growing children.

TUBERCULOSIS INCREASING

On Aug. 26 the E. News reported:

"Three years of German occupation have doubled the number of cases of tuberculosis in Belgium and halved the country's food supplies, according to reports which have reached London. The number of children under 14 visiting tuberculosis clinics has risen by 66 per cent. The general death-rate has gone up by 25 per cent."

Another estimate of the extent of tuberculosis among Belgian children is quoted in Dr. Linz's memorandum. An analysis of the cases of 2,000 children was carried out under the Holfelder classification. Holfelder established the incidence of tuberculosis in normal European population as 13.7 per thousand. The examination of the Belgian children has revealed an incidence of 116.5 per thousand by the same classification.

An inquiry among 14,000 children during 1942 is also quoted. Children under six received a fairly adequate diet, but children between six and fourteen were gravely under-

nourished. The following figures are given based only on the children:

Theoretical daily requirement 2,480 calories
Average consumption in 1939 2,868 ..
Ration during 1941-1942 2,280 ..

Official basic ration 1942 1,260 ..

Swiss relief agencies, reports the Manchester Guardian, have given holidays during the summer to 40,000 children from occupied countries (between the ages of four and fourteen). They come mainly from France, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and most arrive in Geneva "fearfully under-nourished," stay in homes or hostels for three months, and then with healthy cheeks go back to starvation. Several thousand Swiss people have also supported a foster-parent scheme by the Swiss Red Cross to send food worth ten francs each month to a child who cannot go to Switzerland.

In Britain too funds are still being raised for relief work abroad, although here the principal obstacle is not funds but policy. Two boys aged ten and one aged seven recently organized a bring-and-buy sale on Merseyside and raised over £50.

Birmingham has already posted 640 food relief posters on hoardings in preparation for an important public meeting. The Food Relief Campaign is reprinting the posters in the expectation that many other towns will follow suit.

* * *

The Mayor of Calcutta has appealed to Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt to send food to relieve the "acute distress," reported the D. Telegraph, Aug. 25. The day before, the News Chronicle stated that "Two Calcutta hospitals have been turned over to the full-time business of dealing with people who are dying of hunger."

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Hackney (covering the E.5, E.8, E.9, and N.16).—Terence Delaney, 67 Richmond Rd., E.8.

Kingsbridge individual adviser.—Arthur W. Page, Middletown, Chiverton.

Lymington and District.—Ronald F. Savage, Arnewood House, Sway (Sway 291).

Wigton individual adviser.—Fred P. Bell, Highmoor House, Wigton.

ACCOMMODATION

CAN ANYONE take two old ladies, 90, 92, in perfect health, permanent or temporary, moderate fee, share room? Adams, 56 Alderton Rd., E. Croydon.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

FURNISHED ROOMS (one or two) and use of kitchenette, bathroom, garden, in modern house in Woodford offered free in exchange for helping young partially paralyzed mother for few hours each day with baby, cooking and shopping only. Offers, suggestions, and/or further details write Box 61 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SHAKEDOWN, perhaps 2, one night, usually available. Write, or phone if possible, or look in. Brunsell, Stedham, nr. Midhurst.

SHEFFIELD DISTRICT. Pacifist couple (married) would like somewhere to sleep occasional Sat. nights in or near Sheffield, convenient for hiking in Derbyshire. Johnson, 183 College St., Long Eaton, Nottingham.

SMALL FLAT; kitchen-sitting, 2 bedrooms, gas, electricity, own garden, convenient station and shops, 148 Stafford Rd., Caterham.

WANTED IN CAMBRIDGE, by married C.O., permanent accommodation, furnished or unfurnished. Box 53 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED UNFURNISHED house or flat, about 12 miles Royston, two adults, woman willing to give light services if required. Please write Box 54 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED VERY URGENTLY by young C.O. and wife, unfurnished flat or two or three rooms; use kitchen and bathroom; six mile radius of Hounslow. Write Chopping, 70 Monastary Gdns., Enfield.

YOUNG MAN, ex-jail C.O., been in hospital and sanatorium, needs long period convalescence (not a bed case). Terms must be moderate. Type of place suggested, reasonably quiet, near sea, homely attendance. F. Pimm, c/o Arthur Cole, 122 Wanstead Park Avenue, E.12.

**CENTRAL HALL
(Westminster)**
Saturday, Sept. 4, at 2.30 p.m.
(Doors open 1.30)

(BLANKET) BILL

to establish

**EQUALITY FOR MEN & WOMEN
in over thirty laws**

**VERA BRITAIN
Mrs. CORBETT-ASHBY
EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.
DOROTHY EVANS**
(Organizer)
and others

The post-war world will be lop-sided unless women demand full equality in pay, conditions, compensation, pensions, insurance, income-tax, post-war credits, nationality and moral code.

**THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE
PUBLIC MEETING**
SUNDAY, SEP. 12, 1943, at 2.30 p.m.
COSMO CINEMA, GLASGOW
Speakers: The DUKE OF BEDFORD
GUY A. ALDRED
Subscription Ticket. Questions.

Please note our only address
C. A. BROCK & Co. Ltd.
79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10.
For all Printing & Stationery

NEWS of C.O.s

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors strongly urges all sympathizers to take up with their MPs and direct with the Secretary of State for War (Whitehall, S.W.1) the now well-known "cat-and-mouse" case of Stanley Hilton (who, as reported in recent issues of Peace News, has been almost continuously in prison or detention since Oct., 1940), as it is feared that the Minister is not yet prepared to make any concession.

A CONSCIENTIOUS objector who had been engaged by the Health Committee of West Hartlepool Town Council as a temporary sanitary inspector has been given a month's notice, on a resolution of the town council, before he had even taken up the appointment, although he had given up his previous job to take it.

The CO, Ronald Goodbody, of Birmingham, was engaged early in July (reports the CBCO) by the Health Committee, which had full power to do so. But when the council met on Jul. 29, Coun. F. B. Magee moved that the appointment be terminated by one month's notice, and Ald. Turnbull seconded.

Coun. P. M. Williams, who had proposed Ronald Goodbody's appointment in the Health Committee, said that the council should take into consideration the fact that Goodbody was the only man who applied for the post. While entirely disagreeing with his views, he said the CO had a right to hold those views, and Coun. Williams did not think that the council should refuse to employ him.

NO HOME GUARD N.C.C.

When an applicant before the London Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Fulham on Aug. 24 said he had no objection to joining the non-combatant corps of the Home Guard, the chairman, Judge Hargreaves, remarked:

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

EDUCATIONAL

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL, Cranleigh, standard in academic subjects, arts, and music. Bees, chickens, pigs, fruit.

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, Epsom (Prog. Co-ed, Community; boarding and day; 3-18) is extending premises. A few vacancies still remain. Margaret Barclay, B.A., Harold Pratt, B.A.

FOR SALE & WANTED

CLEAN GROWN SALADS, Tomatoes, Veg., Fruit, assorted boxes, 5s., 10s., and £1, packing free. Cowling, Whinney Bank, Thongbridge, Yorks. Grown by pacifist C.W.O.

PACIFISTS AND GROUP Secretaries interested in stamps should write for selections, approval books, etc., to Wembley Group Secretary, 133 Sudbury Av., Wembley. Profits (about 33 1/3%) paid into nominated pacifist funds by Secretaries. References and stamp please.

100,000 VARIOUS Economy Labels still available, must clear; Food Relief, Quaker, Esperanto, No-compulsion. 12s. 6d. 1,000, 6s. 8d. 500, 1s. 4d. 100. W. J. Brigden, Esperanto lecturer and publicist, 125 Drakefield Rd., S.W.17.

LAND & COMMUNITY

WOMAN required to join Pacifist Community Farm in October. Experience in cooking and all household duties desirable. Apply John Middleton Murry, The Lodge Farm, Theltham, nr. Diss, Norfolk.

LITERATURE, &c.

"BEVIN, COCKIN OR CHRIST?" by Ronald Mallone. Articles by Ruth Fry, Norman Robbins, John Kinloch, Harry Wakeman. Verse etc. "Christian Party News-Letter," 3d. Box 56 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PEACE COMMENTARY, a pacifist-socialist view of Industry, Parliament, Foreign and Imperial Policy, 2s. for six issues, from Peace Commentary Group (PN), 16 Mecklenburgh St., London, W.C.1. First of the month.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

MURIEL LESTER, T. Corder Catchpool, International Friendship, Wed., Sep. 8, 7 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, 120 Heath St., N.W.3. Hampstead P.P.U.

NORTH LONDON Region. Patrick Figgis is speaking at our Sep. Breakfast, held first Sun. each month, Edmonton Independent Church, Knights Lane, N.9, 8.30 a.m.

SUMMER RALLY of "Christianity Calling." Kinesway Lecture Hall, Holborn, Sat., Sep. 11. Social Tea 3.30 (apply for ticket, 6d., 25 Windermere Ct., Wembley) 4.30. Overwater House, Tom Sargent of Common Wealth, and Minnie Pallister. All welcome.

WALTHAMSTOW REGION. Thurs., Sep. 9, 7.45 p.m. Sybil Morrison on Armistice Campaign, Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., E.11. Chairman: E. C. Redhead. Admission free. Buses near door 661, 10, 101, 40, 147, 48.

SITUATIONS VACANT

AN EDUCATED young lady required able to teach elementary subjects to young children in well-established Prep school 15 miles from London. Comfortable residential post. G. Buckley, Brookhouse School, Turnford, nr. Broxbourne.

PUBLISHED from 8 Blackstock Rd., London N.4 by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Gifford Printing Co., (T.U.) London, N.16.

"There is no such corps yet, but there may be."

It was officially stated at the London headquarters of the Home Guard later (reported in the News Chronicle, Aug. 25) that the idea of forming a non-combatant corps had never been contemplated.

Owen T. ap Headon Owen, a CO of Ystradgynlais, Breconshire, was fined £30 at Neath police court on Aug. 20 for not doing sufficient work on the land. (We are informed by a relative that he holds two medical certificates to the effect that he is unable to do more work). Of his own 12 acres of land 2 acres had been ploughed; he had also planted potatoes and was rearing pigs, a few poultry, etc. He did not appear in court but was legally represented. The fine has been paid for him. Some time ago he served a term of imprisonment and was afterwards ordered to do land work.

Leslie Clayson, a CO employed by the Gloucestershire War Agricultural Executive Committee, has died in circumstances which indicate that he was compelled to continue at work when he was not fit to do it, states the New Leader (Aug. 28), which publishes some of the facts contained in a report sent to the head office of the Agricultural Workers' Union, of which Clayson was a member, signed by all the men living at the hostel. John McGovern, MP, has been asked to take up the case.

Look out for details.

Coming C.O.

WEEK Soon!

**CENTRAL BOARD
for CONSCIENTIOUS
OBJECTORS . . .**

6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

CHARGES: 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d extra). Reductions on 6 or more insertions.

CASH must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

LATEST TIME for copy to be received: MONDAY. Please type copy separately from your letter.

SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

ASSISTANT MATRON wanted, to train for work with girls aged 2 to 15 years. Fond of children and domestic work (light) to train older girls. Nice home in beautiful part of Derbyshire. 17-18 years. £35 p.a. and live in. Older person considered with increased salary. Box 52 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FRUIT Distributors require assistant for clerical work and interviewing. Congenial. Apply Layton, Temple Bar 4764.

INTELLIGENT "live-wire" for small progressive co-ed. school share teaching (preferably General Science), domestic, and general duties with lively children. Live communally with young, keen, adaptable staff. Age, qualifs., photo. Freemount, Bacton, Hereford.

P.S.U. MANCHESTER Wardens still urgently needed, couple preferred. Communal pocket-money basis. Apply Secretary, 86 Rusholme Rd., Manchester 13.

REQUIRED in Secondary School in West London, an English Master and a Modern Language Master. Apply Box 60 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED HOUSEKEEPER (must be vegetarian), no objection to child. Sewell, Ashcroft, Millford Rd., Sidmouth.

YOUNG MAN REQUIRED to help C.O. on market garden near Taunton. Experience not essential. Good home and pleasant surroundings. Full board and lodging and small weekly amount for general expenses. Write Box 57 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

B.Sc. (25). SEEKS TEACHING, against condition registration. With wife (Kindergarten experience), would accept socially valuable work anywhere. Gibson, 99 Barlow Rd., Nottingham.

C.O. JOINER (30), seeks congenial post connected with agriculture. Able to use own initiative; estate carpenter would suit; preferably within easy reach Sutton, Surrey. 3½ years own business; 2 years general farm work. Box 55 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. 25, unconditional exemption, requires job, preferably open-air, but consider anything; driver. Box 59 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARKET-GARDENING. Christian pacifist (29), conditionally exempt, married, over 2 years' experience, seeks post in London, Middx, Herts, or any area near London. Could interview any time Aug. 30-Sep. 3. Box 48 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARRIED C.O., age 34, exper. 15 months, desires farm work in Home Counties with cottage. Box 51 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

UNDENOMINATIONAL Christian pacifist, 28, of secretarial and organizing abilities would help any reformist institute or individual in exchange for keep. Box 58 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY